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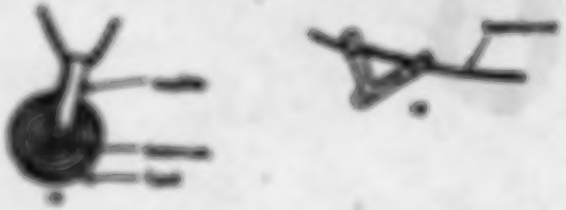

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When a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad milk (*yiik ake gook*, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good obiokot has saved him. His offerings are made to the bad milk.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *koot ap miik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are *magicians* (*pondiokot*, pl. *pondi*, N.) who are bad, and who pretend people have gotten bad by means of their spells. There are also *diviners* (*ombigiet*, pl. *ombiik*, N.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Kenyi system of "ordeal tests" as rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gods of the chest tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "*kemenyet*" (N.), and man's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "*ngoiyo*" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil eye (*yaiwa*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Kenyi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the lepyrowet tree (N. *kipsonik*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 24). Old men wear a charm to keep away rheumatism (*kimokengot*, or *kerosin* (*kerosin*), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the *simotion* tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 25).

V.—Social Customs.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kipsiik*, N.), warriors (*moronik*, N.), and old men (*getoiniik*, or *ngotoiniik*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*kipsi*, N.) and women (*komoiniik*, or *chepiamik*, N.). At circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the *sigiriotet* (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Kenyi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*paramour*, N. *mosset*), whereas in Kenyi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women in the same as it is among the Kenyi, that is, they work on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Kenyi, originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Swynnerton, *op. cit.*).

[2] *Euphorbia candelabrum.*

an goat where the Dverdre are concerned); *mund sjø tangbre*, lit. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i.e. solidified whale milk; *bøeny-vinn*; and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an unnamed spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Fuedi diviner of the kind called *sabyssel*. Diviners used to charge the Dverdre a fee of 1/— if the cause was witchcraft, and 1/— if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lower country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, *bøvsle jøn*, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was *sabyssel* according to the methods employed by Fuedi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face and said: "Come and all its evil-ness that he may recover". The sick person must then be *sibd* on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with *mund sjø tangbre*. If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and they flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the town.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dverdre for many years: they say, too, that they have never had female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dverdre was believed to be responsible. This does not mean, however, that the Dverdre are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Fuedi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dverdre go to the Fuedi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Fuedi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dverdre, and the witch is then dealt with according to Fuedi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dverdre against the Fuedi in 1939 was that they did not want Dverdre to live in the Fuedi Land Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Fuedi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dverdre go to a Fuedi diviner (*sabyssel*) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as *sibdrå* are not, like the Fuedi *sibdrå*, diviners, but simply people who have how to cure illness with herbs and *sibd*, medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whom the Fuedi would call *bjølbrevnnå*. These *sibdrå* (sing. *sibdryn*), besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to protect people from witches and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of bayonet seeds (called *bjønnnå* in Fuedi) to protect them against the evil eye, and old men wear small pieces of the *mundsjø* cow, and about 4 cm. long, tied to their belts

the other world, and movement is effected by ritual methods. The primary sanctions against such acts are upheld by the force of public opinion, which is based on disfavor or loss of well-being through offending the spirits, behind whom are the ultimate powers of nature expressed in the concept of *Aiza*.

But these ultimate powers cannot be reached by man, who can neither see nor understand them, and people like the Dwroho (and indeed many African peoples) must therefore have some kind of intermediary. First come the ancestor, the spirits of the dead, to whom each man addresses his own prayers, and with whom there is a private relationship based on the fact that the spirits were once human beings themselves. Their protection is looked for through the use of tangible material objects in the form of amulets, such as the talisman against the evil eye, ornaments against ghosts, and perhaps the double spiral earrings occasionally worn, although the significance of the last among the Dwroho is not known. These are material intermediaries in that they are between man and the source as protectors.

Formalized religion. The notion of a spiritual being which stands to the fore or 'extreme' is crystallized in the word *Aiza*[a], borrowed from the Nyadi with perhaps some of the Nyadi notions of its nature. *Aiza* is identified with the sun, and prayers are made to him for success, and sometimes to his mother (or sister, for the accounts vary) *Aroma* the moon as well. This is the extent of the formal part *Aiza* plays in Dwroho religious life, but he does the two perform the necessary function of being a recognized object to which men can turn, especially in thought, for restoration of confidence, which is no doubt one of the primary functions of the formalized concept of a major spiritual being, who provides people with an entity that they may look to for help and protection.

The belief in the existence of spirits is much more concrete, and more practical, for the actions of the spirits were seen (sometimes and are therefore much nearer to men than *Aiza* and well fitted to stand between men and the unseen world as mediators. The evil spirits are merely harmful or irritating according as the whim takes them, but they seem to play a relatively unimportant part in the religious life of the Dwroho, however much trouble and discomfort they may cause. They are just things that must be endured. A statement made by a Dwroho that his ancestors[b], the evil spirits, are the same as the evil or good spirits, is to be explained by the belief that even the good spirits can be malevolent at times, for malevolence is more evident than benevolence, and it is necessary to maintain proper ritual relations with them to prevent malevolence. But unlike the evil spirits the evil have a definite home somewhere under the earth, whence they return to visit and take care of the living, to whom they take an interest, and the part taken by the evil in Dwroho life may in fact be exaggerated [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]